

The Bhars of Audh and Banáras.—By PATRICK CARNEGIE, Commissioner of Rái Bareli, Audh.

Who are the Bhars ?

This is a question that has very often been asked since the British became possessed of the Province of Banáras, and more especially since they annexed Audh. Probably no one has devoted more thought to the solution of this question, or has had greater opportunities of considering it closely than the writer, and he therefore proceeds to answer it by the light of his own enquiries.

There is unquestionable evidence that Ayodhyá, near Faizábád, was the capital of the solar race of Chhatrís, many centuries before the Christian era. That this race was Aryan and Sanskrit-speaking does not admit of doubt. The writer is in possession of numerous Bactrian coins, bearing Greek and Sanskrit inscriptions, of the Kadphisis and Kanerko groups, portions of two large hoards of many hundreds each, which were discovered in Ayodhyá and near Sultánpúr. Not a single coin was found in either of these hoards of any subsequent mintage, which is proof positive that these coins had remained hidden where they were eventually found in old metal vessels, since they formed part of the currency of the day. Time, the 1st and 2nd centuries, B. C. We may from this with perfect confidence assume that the Sanskrit-speaking races were dominant in Ayodhyá and Audh from before the days of Rámchandra and the Rámáyan, down to after the commencement of our Era.

Our path is next illuminated by another historical glimpse. In the 4th and 6th centuries the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian and Hiouen-Thsang visited Hindústán, when Buddhism was still dominant throughout the land, with its chief centre at Sahet-Mahet, on the Gonda-Bahráich border, the Rome or Jerusalem of that creed. At Ayodhyá, at Banáras, at Kanauj, at Kashmír, and at all the other chief centres of ancient fame, Buddhism was found to be paramount ; at the same time, however, inimical as the two religions may have been to each other, temples dedicated to Brahma were also found by the pilgrims at all the places named.

To Numismatics we owe our next clue. Within the writer's observation four sets of debased gold or silver coins of the second Kanauj series, have been found in the Faizábád, Bahráich, and Partábgarh Districts, of which he has various specimens, and amongst these not a single coin of a more modern date was discovered. Moreover, in the Asiatic Society's Journal for January 1841, page 98, we have copy of a land grant of Jayachandra found near Faizábád, and sent by the Resident, Colonel Caulfield, to James

Prinsep. Here then we have proof absolute that Kanauj was the territorial capital of north-east Audh 6 to 900 years ago.

About that time, too, we arrive in the more immediate region of direct history, with the Muhammadan advent and conquest, A. D. 1000—1200. It is denied by no one that on the arrival of these invaders they found in possession, and soon overthrew, the Tomárs of Dihlí, the Ráthors of Kanauj, and the *Bhars*, who were found to be in universal possession of the soil of north-east Audh and Banáras. And it is with the last two of these classes that we have any present concern.

Literature and science have brought us so far, and up to this point speculation and theory have been alike avoided; we must now fall back on tradition, and see what that may bring forth. The late Mahárájá Sir Mán Singh, K. C. S. I., himself a Brahman amongst Brahmans, was a scholar and a savant as well as a politician and a soldier, and it was the privilege of the writer to know him intimately and to receive much valuable information from him connected with Audh and its peoples. The writer has also had access to some of the most learned pañdits of the day, including Umadat of Ayodhyá, and Súraj Náráin of Aldemau, a former pupil of the Banáras College, and the information received from such sources as these, so far as it relates to the subject in hand, he now proposes to utilize for the purposes of this paper.

Centuries of Brahmanism which the want of tact of its priesthood had made intolerable to the secular members of the community, had given place to centuries of Buddhism, during which sway was at different times held over Ayodhyá, by dynasties which had Gayá (Magadh) and Sahet-Mahet (Siri-Bastu) as their respective capitals. But the ardour of perverts does not last for ever, and so for yet another term of centuries, came a period during which the people troubled themselves but little about religion and caste; the Hindu Pantheon was forgotten and forsaken, and but little attention was paid to even the well known gods in whose hands alone rested the powers of creation and destruction.

The writer has repeatedly been assured by Sir Mán Singh, and Pañdit Umadat, that during the present century an inscription was discovered in the mound known as the *Maniparbat* in Ayodhyá, which attributed its construction to Rájá Nanda Bardhan of Magadh, who is generally accredited with the suppression of Brahmanism there, and with the establishment of the non-caste system which then became general. This inscription was seen and read by both of these gentlemen, and was sent into Lakhnau in Náçir-ud-dín Haidar's time, but all attempts to trace it further have proved abortive. After this third period, the period of atheism, gleams of Brahmanical light again began to appear in Ayodhyá many centuries ago, and with this circumstance is traditionally associated the name of Vikramáditya

of Ujjain. Its position on the Sarjú, and the survival through many vicissitudes of the shrine of Nagesar Náth Mahádeo led to its identification. But it was probably long after this, and perhaps some ten centuries ago, that the great Brahmanical revival, which had Ajmír for its centre, commenced, and which in time reached eastwards even to Ayodhyá.

It was, as we have been informed, when the power of the Gayá dynasty waned, that Ayodhyá became the apple of discord between the rulers of Kanauj and Sahet-Mahet, and then it was that Chandardeo Ráthor (regenerated Buddhist) and Sirí Chandar (Buddhist and Ex-Súrajbañs Chhatrí) referred their pretensions thereto to the issue of the sword, when a great battle was fought at the modern Satrik, which ended in the downfall of the latter, (the former vanquisher of Sayyid Sálár) and the overthrow of his creed and capital. Time, the early half of the eleventh century. Thus came it to pass that those whom the Chinese pilgrims had found to be Buddhists in Dihlí, in Ajmír, and in Kanauj, in the 4th and 6th centuries of our era, were found by the Muhammadans six hundred years later, restored nominally at any rate to the Vedic faith of their fathers. The Buddhists were believed to be disregards of caste distinctions, but this was not universal, and for a time at any rate the perverts from Brahmanism to Buddhism maintained their caste distinctions; because the Chinese pilgrims refer to Kusala, "with its Kshatriya king of the Buddhist faith"; another king is mentioned as a Kshatriya "and a zealous Buddhist"; and of a third it is said that though a Brahman he patronizes the Buddhist religion. Lastly, the pilgrims were "particularly struck with the minute observances of caste". It would thus appear that in the 4th and 6th centuries caste distinctions were not entirely disregarded by the perverts; they were indeed in some instances maintained till the Brahmanical revival; for it is believed that the rulers of Dihlí continued to call themselves Tomárs and Ráthors both before and after that event.

But whether it was during the Buddhist supremacy or at a later time when religion and its accessories became greatly neglected, there can be no doubt that for a considerable period before the Muhammadan conquest the distinctions of caste had altogether disappeared, and the soil of north-east Audh and Banáras had become possessed by a single god-neglecting, caste-disregarding race, whom it is the fashion amongst the natives of the day, who are mostly their descendants, to treat with the utmost disdain.

Here I answer the question put at the beginning of this paper, this god-neglecting caste-disregarding race were the Bhars!

There is nothing either astonishing or improbable in this, for we have the authority of the great lawgiver Manu that "all those tribes of men, who sprang from the mouth, the arm, the thigh, and the foot of Brahma, but who became outcastes by having neglected their duties, are called Dásyus,

or plunderers, whether they speak the language of Mlechchhas or that of Aryas." *Dásyu* is a common word used in old Hindu writings to indicate such outcastes as the Bhars, Bhíls, Chíros, Gonds, and Kols, most of whom, strange to say, still keep up a Rájput tribal nomenclature, and most of whom are gradually becoming again uplifted and enlisted into the fraternity of Rájputs. Family vicissitudes are thus treated by Manu:—"Should the tribe springing from a Brahman by a Sudra mother, produce a succession of children by the marriages of its women with other Brahmans, the low tribe shall be raised to the highest in the seventh generation. As the son of a Sudra may thus attain the rank of a Brahman, and as the son of a Brahman may sink to a level with the Sudra, even so must it be with him who springs from a Kshatriya; even so with him who was born a Vaisya."

These quotations from the famous Code of Hindu Ethics surely make it very clear that there was a general Brahmanical fall, when distinctions of language even did not prevent the people from becoming a universal family of *Dásyus* or outcastes, a family known in the area of which we treat as *Bhars*; and they also explain how in the general Brahmanical revival that finally followed, these robbers and plunderers were admitted once more to all the privileges and beatitudes of the twice-born.

Many years of the official life of the writer have been devoted to duties which involved the examination of the genealogies of some of our oldest and best native families, and the results of his enquiries have led him to the following conclusions: (1) That not a single member of the landed gentry or local priesthood can trace back to an ancestor who held an acre of land, or who administered a spiritual function, within the area under enquiry during the Bhar supremacy; (2) That scarcely any of them can trace back to an ancestor who came into Audh at the Muhammadan advent, when the Bhars, who were then in universal possession of the land, were overthrown; and (3) That the great mass of the landowners of to-day can trace no further back than to an ancestor whose origin is easily discovered to be both indigenous and spurious.

Referring to the *first* of these three classes, it amounts unquestionably to this; that in what was once the very heart and soul of Hindústán, the much vaunted birthplace of the solar race and of Hinduism, there was not a single Hindu landowner left in it, and it had become overrun by pagans, when the Muhammadans conquered it; but no sooner had that event taken place, than not a pagan was to be seen anywhere; they had utterly disappeared, and the country at once became peopled again with orthodox Hindus, with their veds and their pandits, just as if they had never left it.

In regard to the *second* of these classes, the writer thinks it expedient here to quote some remarks from a treatise by him on the 'Races of Audh':—

“I have found the opinion so generally entertained that there was a Rájput conquest and colonization of Audh, that it requires a distinct answer. The theory which I have broached and supported in this paper (of the Bhars of old being the Hindus of to-day), is invariably met by the argument that it opposes the declarations of a clear and general tradition. It is argued that in spite of specious theories to the contrary, such a tradition cannot in its main features be false; that if to satisfy the pride or envy of the more recent converts, an origin was invented for them, it would have been more consistent with the gradual growth of the Brahmanical creed, to assert a continuous adherence to it, than immigration by force of arms: that if the Rájput clans retained the shameful tradition of illegitimate alliances with low caste women, the fact affords strong grounds for crediting the remainder of their traditionary history.

“To this argument there is but one reply. I have not discovered the existence of any such central tradition of conquest by Rájputs from without, as that on which the argument entirely rests. It is stated in some of the books to which we commonly refer, but it is not the statement of the Rájput clans of Audh. I can refer to the histories of many Rájput clans. We find accounts of their origin, some mythical, some confused, and some not very honorable; but none of them declare, as do many of the Muhamadan legends, the arrival of an army of clansmen, and colonization by the victors with their families and kin.

“The very fact of the singular connections to which so many of the clans trace their descent, is opposed to the idea of a conquest by arms. An orthodox Hindu, the conqueror of a low-born race, would not have founded a family by an alliance which his religion sternly rebuked. He would, like his Muhamadan contemporaries, have summoned his wife and children to the new country which his prowess had won. The tradition of descent from a pure Chhatrí may point to what is possibly true, that some pure Chhatris did immigrate into Audh as Buddhism waned, of which the province was the cradle and head quarters, and there is evidence to shew that Buddhism retreated from the west and south to the north through Audh. That the western Chhatris were, therefore, earlier returners to the Brahman creed than the inhabitants of north-east Audh, and sent representatives to this province before the final decay of Buddhism and the Bhars, is not surprising. It is finally noticeable that the Audh clans who claim an extra-provincial origin, trace their descent to single Chhatris, and not to troops of Rájput invaders. Such are the Bais of Baiswára, who claim to descend from Tilokchand, who came from the Central Provinces, and the Rájkumárs, from Barriar Singh, a Chauhán of Manipuri, through whom they claim kindred with Prithiráj of Dihlí. With these two exceptions none of the clansmen of eastern Audh claim a western origin.”

In regard to the *third* class, it is always invidious to enter into details of *pedigrees*, but a few amongst very many available instances may be given. The Kanpúriá is one of our most important clans; so is the Bandelgot. In twenty generations according to the members, both these pedigrees are lost in obscurity; but what the world says is this, that they are the offspring of mal-alliances between two Brahman brothers, and women of the Ahír and Dhárkar castes. The Amethia is not an unimportant clan. They call themselves Chamár-gor Rájputés, and their generations are not longer than the others named. What the world says of this, is that a Chamár-gor is the offspring of a Chamár father and a Gor-Brahman woman. Moreover within the memory of man, an Amethiá Chief has, according to Sleeman, taken to wife the grand-daughter of an ex-Pásí Chowkidar, and raised up orthodox seed unto himself. The Raotars are another numerous clan with but half the number of generations, and with precisely a similar parentage as the Kanpúriás (Brahman-Ahír). Their name is taken from Rawat, an Ahír Chief. The Pulwars are influential and numerous, and of these it is said that they are descended from a common ancestor, who had four wives, of whom one only was of his own status, the others being a *Bharin*, an Ahír and another low caste woman. Here we have a Hindu-Bhar origin freely admitted. The Bhalesaltan clan, also, is comparatively modern, and of equivocal Ahír origin. There are numerous families of Bais, too, who are in no way related to the Tilokchandí Bais of Baiswára. The former are modern and equivocal, the term Bais being, it may be mentioned, the most ready gate by which enlistment into the fraternity of Rájputés could formerly be achieved. The most proud and haughty of our clansmen have not been slow to take to themselves wives from the mammon of unrighteousness, in the shape of the daughters of those whom we have shewn above to be of equivocal origin, and so in the result, their offspring, our contemporaries, are little better than their neighbours. Add to this the fact that owing to daughters being as a general rule put to death as soon as they were born, wives had almost invariably to be purchased, through those who were as great adepts at cheating in respect of caste, as horse-dealers are elsewhere, in passing off screws, and it will be admitted that it really does not very much signify who the fathers of Audh were, for if its mothers were not Ahírs and Bhars, there is no certainty that they were at all better than if they had been members of those classes. Finally, all those land-owning families who can only urge an indigenous origin, must, whether they admit it or not, recognize the fact that they are descendants of Bhars, for every acre of land was owned, and the country was throughout peopled, by these alone, and by no others.

The next point to which we shall refer is *language*. Notwithstanding the evidence we have that Audh was peopled by the solar race of Hindus

before our era, it has been said that the Bhars who peopled and held the soil and who are as modern as the Muhammadans, were aborigines. If so, they must have had a language. But they had not. Documents of older date have been found, but no Bhar writing was ever heard of; and we have it on the authority of an Ouseley, an honoured name in oriental lore, that the Bhars were of Sanskrit-speaking origin, otherwise that they were Aryans, otherwise that they were demoralized Hindus. The parganas of Bhardoi, Bharosá, Bahráich, and Bharolí, and the town of Bhartipur (near the Bhar capital, Kusbhawanpur *alias* Sultánpúr,) are all believed to derive their names from the Bhars; in modern times they have assumed the pronunciation of Badoi, Barrosá, Baráich, and (Rái) Barelí. Sleeman also mentions a large district of nearly a thousand villages near Mahamdí, which even in his day was known as *Bharwára*, now occupied by Ahban Rájputés.

On the point of *religion* we have no reason for supposing that the Bhars were by any means devout, still they were no doubt superstitious, and in some sort of way they revered and made sacrifices and offerings to the powers of creation and destruction. In Baiswára the universal belief is, that the Bhars of the past are the Ahírs of our day. That of course amounts to an admission that they were Hindus. It also accounts for an Ahír origin being given to so many of our Rájput clans, as already pointed out. Sir Henry Elliot, too, traced an affinity between Bhars and Ahírs. Mr. Bennett, in his history of the Rái Barelí clans, mentions that "the tomb of the Bhar chieftains (Dal and Bal, slain by the Muhammadans,) is still at Pakraulí, rather more than a mile from Dalmau, and is celebrated by a fair in the autumn, at which great numbers of Ahírs collect, and offer milk to the souls of the departed heroes." The writer has seen this shrine which contains idols, supposed to be the headless bodies of the deceased chiefs who were decapitated and turned into stone, but which are only hideous representations of the goddess of destruction. These idols are worshipped not only by Ahírs (whom, according to Sir George Campbell, other Hindus include amongst the respectable classes, because they are in charge of the sacred cow), but by all other Hindus as well, including even Brahmans. Had the Bhar chiefs whom these idols are said to represent, been pagans, or other than Hindus, it is scarcely to be supposed that their tomb would have remained to this time the object of Brahmanical adoration.

Since the writer first addressed himself to the consideration of subjects akin to the present, his views and opinions in regard to the working upwards in the religio-social scale of the different sects of Hindus, have received most unexpected and remarkable confirmation from the very able writings of Mr. Alfred Lyall, B. C. S., on Hinduism as a missionary religion, &c. He has already instanced cases of the movement upwards by marriage. He can at this moment lay his hand on families of Brahmans who were made

Brahmans to meet the momentary and temporal necessities of a man of influence. So also he can name families who are now Rájputés (if not Chhatrís), because it had been their good fortune to render service as menials to a man who had the power to reward it. These are comparatively modern instances of the movement upwards. Moreover, the Mahants of the far-famed Monkey-temple of Ayodhyá, revered of all good Hindus, are recruited from all classes of Hindus, even to the lowest, and having gone through their discipleship, they receive reverence and homage from the highest in the land. It can scarcely, therefore, with truth be contended that Hinduism is not a missionary religion, or that social advancement is fettered by caste prejudice.

It must always be kept in mind that the change from Brahmanism to Buddhism did not involve an absolute change of religion, it was a universal protest against priestly intolerance—just as Protestants rose against Roman Catholics, or the Free Kirk of Scotland rebelled against State interference, and in process of time, when the cause that brought the schism about, had been forgotten, the heretics again quietly lapsed into the old faith, apparently as a matter of course, just as we hear it said that the tendency of the day is for the Free Kirk to return to the Establishment. Had there been an absolute change of religion, it might have been very different. At the same time we have before our eyes an instance to show how difficult it is for natives to change, and it strongly supports our position that throughout the Buddhist and Atheist periods the traditions of caste were not altogether lost. We know that 400 years ago the Muhammadan dynasty of Jaunpúr made converts to their faith in no measured degree, the practical result being that nearly every one of our older Rájput clans has its Muhammadan or Khánzáda branch; but such is the tenacity of consanguinity and custom, that while on the one hand, the perverts retain all their old Hindu ordinances and rituals, and are allowed to join in all the domestic ceremonials of the Hindu portion of their clans, by the names of which, moreover, they still continue to be known, the old Muhammadans on the other hand, who profess to disregard caste, will not readily marry with the perverts, and hesitate not to show them the cold shoulder on every possible occasion. Here we have an absolute change of religion, notwithstanding which all caste forms and distinctions have been scrupulously maintained for more than 400 years. Does this not support the position that in the other instance, in which there was first a mere modification and afterwards a temporary neglect, but no absolute relinquishment of creed, the old traditions were burnished up and the old rituals and forms once more revived with the return of god-fearing, caste-respecting days. To shew that the breach between a Brahman and a Buddhist is not so very wide as we are taught to suppose, it may be mentioned that at this moment all the Jain-Buddhist temples at Ayodhyá are in charge of a Gor Brahman!

One of the things about the Bhars which create surprise, is that the numerous old mounds on which we still find traces of their habitations, and which are known throughout the country as *Bharádís* (or *Bhar-ábádís*), are usually found strewed with burnt bricks and other débris, indicative of a better class of residences than are adopted by the agricultural population of these days. The reasons for this, however, are not difficult to assign. There is nothing more certain in political economy than that the land can only in comfort support a certain number of lives; and one of the difficulties of the future, is what we are to do with our surplus population. Eastern Audh is at this moment the most densely peopled tract in the world, and day by day as population increases and the margin of culturable waste becomes smaller, the means of the people, derived so largely from agriculture, will become individually smaller. In the days of the Bhars, population was sparse, and land plentiful, the people consequently were in better circumstances. Moreover, Audh was then covered with jungle. Even the eastern or most advanced portion of it, was known as *Banaudha*, the "Audh forest". Wild animals inhabited the woods. It followed that people who were comparatively well off, should secure themselves from beasts of prey, by using bricks and tiles in the construction of their houses, rather than the mud and reeds which poverty and security have now made universal.

There are few things more misleading and untrustworthy than the definitions which natives, however well educated, offer in explanation of the names of tribes and localities; and every effort to find a reasonable rendering of the term *Bhar* has as yet failed. Tod mentions that in the times to which this paper refers, the people of *Rájpútáná* became amalgamated into a single great family conglomeration, and they were called *Bhumiya*. This is a well known term indicative of connection with the soil, and means neither more nor less than *agriculturist*. This was precisely the position occupied by the Bhars in the territory peopled by them, and for all we know to the contrary, the name may have some similar meaning.

It is denied by no one that 500 years ago no one but the Bhars owned a single acre of land in these parts, but not a single inch of land has been owned by the Bhars since the Muhammadan conquest. In fact but few of the tribe are now to be found, and these few follow such degrading occupations as keeping swine, in the most eastern portion of Audh. Whether these are the same as the Bhar rulers of the past (whom Mr. Thomason refers to as the *Ráj-Bhars* of *Rámá's* time) or not, it is impossible to say, but they now worship the same gods as the Hindus, and by general admission they are Hindus. The *Rájpúts* and the *Rájbhars* of old were not above caring for the good things of this life—and whatever the former may do now, they then eschewed neither pork nor strong drink. The Bhars of to-day are as liberal in their views on these things as their ancestors were, and the only oath they really respect is associated with wine.

Our able friend and fellow labourer in the field of Audh antiquarian research, Mr. W. C. Benett, B. C. S., the author of the history of the Rái Barelí clans, is one of those who believe in a Chhatrí colonization and conquest from the West, and is disposed to treat our views on the Bhars, as set forth in this paper, as somewhat heretical. But whereas that able enquirer gives no evidence at all of any military colonization, he records many things which support the views which he has not yet ceased to consider as erroneous. We quote some of these remarks here and reply to them. He says, p. 21: "The story of his (*i. e.*, the Great Bais Rájá, Tilokchand's) creation of new castes, is too well attested and too much opposed to the spirit of Hindu invention, to admit of doubt. More than one caste of Brahmans are grateful to him for their cord and their privileges, while it is indisputable that he largely increased the number of Kshatrí clans. The Ahír Bhale Sultans, the Kahar Mahrors and the Pargulis directly ascribe their elevation to him; and numerous castes in the Faizabad and Gonda districts, such as Gundharias, Naipurias, Barwars, and Chahus claim to have been originally Bais, There are besides numerous families of small zamíndárs who call themselves *Bharudhi Bais*, and whose want of any tradition of immigration and peculiar religion, distinguish them from the pure Bais of the West." This last instance amounts to the admission of a Bhar descent, and in our estimation the difference in purity between the various Bais branches is hard to distinguish; some are no doubt older than others.

At page 25, Mr. Benett admits with us, that the Bais (other than the Tilokchand branch) "occupy nearly the lowest position among Audh Chhatrís", and he adds, "It seems most probable that about 400 years ago, members of the agricultural and military aristocracy of all castes assumed the title of Bais, in much the same way as the leading families of Orissa and parts of Central India are now claiming to be Chhatrís." It pleases those who think with Mr. Benett to speak of the inhabitants of those days as "the agricultural and military aristocracy of all castes"; to our mind, however, we have demonstrated that those classes were then represented by the caste-forgetting Bhars alone. It is not denied that these became Ráj-púts, though of "the lowest position". It is remarkable that the families of Orissa and Central India to which Mr. Benett refers, have all along retained a Chhatrí tribal nomenclature, and now that they are again become Chhatrís, they resume the old family titles! This surely supports the view of a general local religious downfall, followed by a gradual local reformation and revival!

Mr. Benett thus finally disposes of the Bhars (p. 25): "The complete extinction of this people has occasioned much surprise, but it is not difficult to understand. Both the Musalmáns and the Hindus were conquering nations, and the hand of each was turned against the old inhabitants whom

they wished to dispossess. Against one enemy the Bhars might have stood, and retained, even when defeated, a portion of their former rights, but in the wars between the invaders, each victory, to whichever side it inclined, was to them a new defeat and entailed another onslaught on their possessions. As the balance swayed from side to side in the long and doubtful struggle between the Rájputés and the eastern empire, they suffered with every change of fortune, and were conquered not once but many times. It was not one war of extermination, but the harassing attacks of two centuries, often repeated, each time with new vigour, before which they fell. Their customs, their position, and we may conjecture their language and nationality, prevented anything like a perfect union with either of their enemies. And yet there can be no doubt that while many were slain, and many fled to the north and to the east, many still survive in their old territory under modern names. The statesmanship of Tilokchand elevated not a few of their principal families to the rank of Chhatris, and the Tirgunait Brahmans, the Kharibind Kurmis, the *Bharotia* and *Bhiettia* Ahírs, and many families of the Gújars are connected with their race by hardly doubtful tradition. A careful enquiry into the private worship and peculiar customs of the present castes of the district would probably still further disprove the tale of their utter extinction, but it can hardly be a matter for surprise that the more obvious evidences of their kingdom have been swept away."

It will be observed that in this last quotation the whole argument is based on the Bhars being *an older people* than the Hindus, with *a language of their own*. Now nothing is more certain than that the Bhar non-conformists were not in power, or so far as we know in existence in the 6th century, when the Chinese pilgrims visited Audh, which was then peopled by Buddhists and Brahmanists; but they were dominant when they were conquered by the Muhammadans. So their day of power was obviously confined to a period between the 7th and 12th centuries. The Súrjbanés Hindus under Ráma, on the contrary, flourished centuries before the Christian era, and we are still in possession of writings to establish what their language was. Then what becomes of the argument based on the Bhars being older than the Hindus and having a language of which, however, not a vestige written or oral is to be traced!

Mr. Benett fully admits that "many (Bhars) still survive under modern names", and that many were "elevated" by what he calls "statesmanship", into the ranks of the twice-born. In the circumstances it appears that our views of a social and religious regeneration have been completely confirmed by these quotations, and it is alike needless to look further for proofs of an immigration or colonization from the west, or an extermination or exodus to the north and east.

We began this paper with a reference to the teachings of science and literature, and we shall end it in the same way. Books have told us of the sovereignty of the Súrajbaṅs of old and the Ráthors of more recent times. The coins of Bactria and Kanauj have confirmed what these books have said of these races of rulers, and land-grants of the last mentioned dynasty have added to this confirmation. But neither book nor coin nor grant throws even the faintest ray of light on a people who possessed the land at a still more recent period; and whose sway, over the territory inhabited by them, was for many centuries universal. The historians who might perhaps have been able to tell us the facts, are the Buddhists, or their successors the Jains, who have locally disappeared: from the Brahmans we are not likely to receive further information. It is not, however, impossible that enquiries carefully conducted at Mount Abú, at Parisnáth, and at Kaṭmandú, may yet throw light upon a subject which is still involved in obscurity. The Ayodhyá of old has always been intimately connected with those localities. Some half dozen of the Jain Hierarchs (*tírtbankaras*), who afterwards died at the first two mentioned of those places, were natives of Audh, and it was from Abú that the Brahmanical revival gradually spread over the country which eventually reached even to Audh. The historians of those quarters may not have the same motives for secrecy that our Brahmans, who alone can have the information here, possess, and to them only can we therefore look satisfactorily to elucidate this mystery.

Translations from the Díwán of ZÍB-UN-NISÁ BEGAM, poetically styled 'MAKHFÍ, daughter of the Emperor AURANGZÍB.—By P. WHALLEY, B.C.S., Murádábád.

No. I.

با گلشن غم ساز که باغ به ازین نیست
 خون خور عوض می که ایان به ازین نیست
 پروانه تکمل کن و مهتاب نشین باش
 در خانۀ مفلس که چراغ به ازین نیست
 هنگامه کفم گرم من از نشنۀ صحبت
 در مذهب احباب دمان به ازین نیست
 معشوق و می و گلشن و جمعیت خاطر
 خوش باش که اسباب فراغ به ازین نیست